

Message Text

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46

ACTION EUR-12

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SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9270

INFO AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 1360

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, AO

SUBJECT: "OBSERVER" STATEMENT ON ANGOLA

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

1. SUMMARY. AN AUTHORITATIVE "OBSERVER" ARTICLE IN IZVESTIYA (JAN 29) STRONGLY ATTACKS U.S. POLICY IN ANGOLA, REITERATES CLAIM THAT THE SOVIET UNION STANDS FOR PEACE, AND ASSERTS THAT USSR DOES NOT OPPOSE THE QUEST FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION. THE
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ARITCLE ADDS THAT MOSCOW WELCOMES A CONSOLIDATION OF ALL

"PATRIOTIC FORCES," WITHOUT IDENTIFYING SUCH FORCES, AND PLACES THE BLAME FOR THE PREVIOUS COALITION'S COLLAPSE ON THE ACTIONS OF THE FNLA AND UNITA. WE DETECT LITTLE, IF ANY, SOFTENING OF MOSCOW'S POSITION, AND CONSIDER THIS STATEMENT AS AN EFFORT TO PUT A MODERATELY CONCILIATORY FACADE ON AN ESSENTIALLY UNCHANGED POLICY. END SUMMARY.

2. MUCH OF THE OBSERVER ARTICLE IS DEVOTED TO A DISCUSSION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANGOLAN CONFLICT AND A JUSTIFICATION FOR SOVIET POLICY. THE BASIC THRUST OF THE ARGUMENTATION IS THE STANDARD LINE THAT MOSCOW WAS AND IS MERELY SUPPORTING A GENUINE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN ITS STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND RACISM, AND THAT SOVIET SUPPORT WAS EXTENDED IN RESPONSE TO A REQUEST FROM THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA. IN THIS REGARD, OBSERVER REITERATES THAT SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS "IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT" PRINCIPLES OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. THE ARTICLE ALSO STRESSES THE THEME THAT "INDEPENDENT AFRICA" STANDS AT A CRUCIAL CROSSROADS WHERE IT MUST CHOOSE BETWEEN TRUE INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, OR A RETURN TO DOMINATION BY COLONIALIST AND RACIST FORCES.

3. OBSERVER ALSO DIRECTS SOME OF HIS HEAVY ARTILLERY AT THE U.S., AS HE CLAIMS THAT GULF OIL'S DECISION TO WITHHOLD PAYMENT OF \$125 MILLION IS ONE ELEMENT OF AN IMPERIALIST EFFORT TO IMPOSE AN "ECONOMIC BLOCKADE" ON ANGOLA. IN ADDITION, OBSERVER REPEATS THE CHARGE THAT DURING THE OAU SUMMIT, THE U.S. APPLIED "DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE" ON (UNIDENTIFIED) AFRICAN COUNTRIES. OBSERVER ALSO REPORTS THAT, FOLLOWING THE MEETING IN ADDIS ABABA, THE WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES OF 37 AFRICAN COUNTRIES WERE SUMMONED TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND WERE INFORMED THAT FUTURE U.S. ECONOMIC AID "WOULD BE GIVEN TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE RELATIONS OF THIS OR THAT COUNTRY TO THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA."

4. REGARDING THE FUTURE COURSE OF EVENTS, OBSERVER IN HIS CONCLUDING PASSAGES CLAIMS THAT SOVIET UNION STANDS FOR PEACE, AND HAS NEVER AND DOES NOT NOW OPPOSE THE "QUEST FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION IN ANGOLA." THE USSR WELCOMED THE ORIGINAL COALITION AGREEMENT, OBSERVER-CONTINUES, AND THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS COLLAPSE "RESTS COMPLETELY ON THE SPLITTISTS FROM THE FNLA AND UNITA." ACCORDING TO OBSERVER, THE SOVIET UNION NOW WELCOMES

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EFFORTS WHICH WOULD PROMOTE THE "CONSOLIDATION" IN ANGOLA "OF ALL PATRIOTIC FORCES WHICH SUPPORT THE COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE AND FREE DEVELOPMENT" OF ANGOLA. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA ALSO HOLDS THIS VIEW, OBSERVER CONCLUDES.

5. COMMENT. THIS IS THE MOST AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT OF SOVIET ANGOLA POLICY SINCE THE JAN 3 PRAVDA ARTICLE, BUT IT CONTAINS LITTLE THAT IS NEW, AND DOES NOT REFLECT A SIGNIFICANT--IF ANY AT

ALL--SOFTENING OF MOSCOW'S POSITION. UNRELENTING TOUGHNESS OF MOST OF THE ARTICLE IS RELIEVED BY RELATIVELY MAGNANIMOUS TONE OF THE CONCLUSION, AND RESULT GIVES IMPRESSION OF PATCHWORK. ARTICLE SEEMS MAINLY DESIGNED FOR AFRICAN AUDIENCE AND CONSOLIDATES MOST OF THE INDIVIDUAL ATTACKS ON THE U.S. ROLE WHICH HAVE RECENTLY APPEARED IN SOVIET MEDIA. U.S. IS MUCH MORE PROMINENT TARGET THAN IN JAN 3 PRAVDA EDITORIAL. MOST OF THE OTHER SUBSTANCE IS ALSO A RERUN. THE SOVIETS HAVE PREVIOUSLY HINTED THAT A COALITION OF SOME SORT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE, BUT THESE VEILED OVERTURES GENERALLY EXCLUDED THE LEADERS OF THE OPPOSITION GROUPS, IN PARTICULAR ROBERTO. OBSERVER'S EXTENSION OF THE BLAME FOR THE PREVIOUS COALITION'S COLLAPSE TO THE FNLA AND UNITA GROUPS AS A WHOLE SEEMS TO CLOSE ALL DOORS TO SAVIMBI AND (POSSIBLE) SECONDARY LEADERS. (IN THIS REGARD, PRAVDA (JAN 30) REPLAYS AN AAPSO MENT#FROM LUANDA, AND EXCERPTS FROM A CUBAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE ARTICLE FROM HAVANA, WHICH CONSISTENTLY IDENTIFY ROBERTO AND SAVIMBI AS VILLAINS.) THE ONLY TOTALLY NOVEL ELEMENT APPEARS TO BE OBSERVER'S STATEMENT THAT THE PRA ALSO SHARES MOSCOW'S POSITION. BUT, ON BALANCE, THE STATEMENT SEEMS MAINLY DESIGNED TO PUT A CONSILIATORY FACADE ON A BASICALLY UNCHANGED POSITION. AT LEAST WE READ IN IT NO SIGNAL THAT THE BASIC THRUST OF SOVIET ANGOLAN POLICY--MILITARY ADVANCE ON THE GROUND AND KEEPING THE MPLA RECOGNITION BANDWAGON ROLLING IN THE DIPLOMATIC SPHERE--IS ABOUT TO VEER OFF TOWARD A NEGOTIATED RESOLUTION. STOESSEL

NOTE BY OC/T: #AS RECEIVED

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